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SKETCH OF
THE HISTORY OF THE BIBLE IN BOHEMIA.

BY G. W. MALIN.

In Manuscript.

The antiquity of a Bohemian version of the Scriptures is generally conceded, although it has been the subject of earnest controversy.

Dobrowsky, a learned Bohemian, writing in 1780,* not having met with very early MSS., doubted their existence, and thought it probable that the first translation had been made under the auspices of King Wenzel the First, who died in the year 1307. But P. Gelasius Dobner† (1788) assures us that he had seen and examined MSS. of an earlier date; and that the Emperor Charles IV, as King of Bohemia, in a charter issued in 1347, ascribed the Bohemian version to St. Jerome in these words, viz.: "Ob reverentiam & memoriam gloriosissimi Confessoris beati Jeronymi Stridoniensis Doctoris egregii & translatoris, interpretique eximii Sacræ Scripturæ de ebraica in latinam & slavonicam linguas, de qua siquidem slavonica lingua nosti Regni Bohemiæ idioma sumsit exordium primordialiter & processit," etc.‡ Balbinus§ (1677) also contends for this origin of the Bohemian version. Dobner, after a careful examination of the evidence, arrives at the conclusion that the version thus attributed to St. Jerome was originally the work of Cyril and Methodius, Greek misssionaries, who first

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* Dobrowsky, in Abhandlungen einer Privatgeselleschaft in Böhmen, 5ter Band.

† Dobner, in Abhandlungen der bömischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Prag. 4ter Band, page 296.

‡ Dobner, in the same, page 298, quoting from Pelzel's Leben Karl des Vierten, erster Theil, in Urkundenbuch, S. 92.

§ Balbinus, in Dissertatione Apalogetica pro lingua Slavonica, præcipue Bohemica.

proclaimed the Gospel to the Slavonians about the year 860, but that their translation having become archaic, as several centuries had materially modified the language of the Bohemians, was revised, modernized and assimulated to the Latin Vulgate, and afterwards generally ascribed to St Jerome, the more readily as that distinguished man was commonly, although erroneously claimed as a fellow-countryman by Slavonic writers.

It is evident, therefore, that those who have attributed the Bohemian translation to John Huss* were mistaken, as it existed long before his day. It is, however, by no means improbable that by Huss, or under his supervision, it was revised, transcribed and circulated. We know at least that copies were numerous in after years among his followers. Some of these manuscripts still exist. The library of the Vatican contains a Codex Biblia Bohemica; another, of the New Testament only, is preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford,† and others are doubtless extant.

The Printed Bible.

In regard to the printed Bible, our knowledge is much more definite.

We learn from the historian Gindely‡ that the first Bohemian printing press was established by the Roman Catholics at Pilsen, in the year 1468; and that about twenty years later other presses were set up in Prague and Kuttenberg by the Ultraquist, or Calixtine party, then dominant in those cities. And from these latter, as we are informed by Elsner§ and Kleich,‖ issued the two first Bohemian Bibles. The earliest of these was printed at Prague. Its typography is rude, the characters Gothic, the initial letters of the chapters are all supplied by the pen. It has no division into verses, has neither the page nor folio numbered, and is without custos. It is comprised in 610 folios, with two columns upon the page. Its colophon as translated by Kleich, is in these words, viz.

* Rieger, Die Alten und Neuen Böhmischen Brüder, Erster Band, page 457. Zullichau, 1739.

† De Long, Bibliotheca Sacra. Paris, 1700.

‡ Gindely, Geschichte der Böhmischen Brüder, Erster Band, page 134. Prag, 1857.

§ Elsner, Versuch einer böhmischen Bibel-Geschichte, von Johann Theophilus Elsner, Senior der B. Br. Unität in Gros-Pohlen, &c. Halle. 1765.

‖ Kleich (Wenzel) Vorrede zu einem böhmischen Neuen Testamente. Zittau, 1720.

"Das Ende dieser Arbeit und Bücher des göttlichen Gesetzes is glücklich gemacht worden in der berühmten Altstadt Prag, wobey viele Mühe und Unkosten gehabt haben die berühmten Männer und Bürger, Herr Johann Pytlik und Herr Severin, ein Kramer, Schöppen [sheriffs, or presiding magistrates,] dieses Jahrs; wie auch Herr Johann aus den Störchen, und Herr Matthias aus dem Weissen Löwen [probably noted hotels in Prague] indem sie zuvörderst ihr Absehen auf Gottes Ehre und denn auch auf das wahre Beste des Königreichs Böhmen, und den Anwachs im Guten der Böhmen und Mähren gehabt haben. Sie haben sich dabey der Hülfe der pragischen Magister und anderer im Gesetze des Herrn erfahrnen Männer bedienet, bis sie diese Arbeit zu Ende gebracht haben, und zwar im Jahr 1488, in Monat August."

The Bible thus published in this stronghold of the Calixtines, under the auspices of the authorities of the city and partly at their expense, cannot with any show of reason, be attributed to the Brethren, by whom indeed it never appears to have been claimed, but can only be regarded as a highly praiseworthy work of the Utraquists of Prague.

This edition is now very rare. Among existing copies the best known are those in the Imperial Library at Paris* and the State Library of Prague.†

Copies of the edition printed at Kuttenberg by Martin Von Tischinowa, in 1489, are even less frequently met with than those of that of Prague; from which however they differ in no material particular. Both editions follow closely the Latin Vulgate, and have the prefixes of St. Jerome. In both, as also in the English version by Wickliffe, the Acts of the Apostles follow the Epistle to the Hebrews.

The third Bohemian Bible was printed at Venice in 1506.‡ Why so distant a place was selected for the purpose is now unknown. It is true that Venice had established a reputation for superior typography, but by this time printing was well established in Bohemia, and even the Brethren had a press in Jungbunzlau as early as the year 1500. Possibly the enemies of the truth, who about that time instigated a bitter persecution of the

* Brunet, Manuel du Libraire. Paris, 1860.

† H. A. B., in *The Moravian*, Bethlehem, 1869.

‡ Theobald, Hussiten Krieg, Ander Thiel, page 138. Nürnberg, 1621.

Brethren, may have induced the authorities of the day to prohibit the printing of Bibles in Bohemia. Be that as it may, this edition also appears to have had a Calixtine origin, and was printed at the expense of the citizens of Prague. Brunet, the great French bibliographer, says of it,—"*Version faite à l'usage des Hussites par Penatska,*"—an assertion which gave the writer much trouble, until after consulting many biographers and bibliographers in search for Benatska, he discovered that the word is the Bohemian name of Venice! and that Brunet, or his amanuensis, had mistaken it for the name of a printer. The real printer was Peter Lichtenstein, a native of Cologne.

This Venetian edition has frequently been described as the first Bohemiam Bible, and especially by Theobald, the historian of the wars of the Hussites, 1609 and 1621; Sam. A. Weleslawina,* publisher of a Bohemian Bible at Prague in 1613, and after them by Comenius, who probably adopted the statement of these writers without sufficient examination. Indeed it is improbable that Comenius ever saw a copy of this edition, which had not only become rare, but was superseded before his birth by the very superior translation of the Brethren from the original Greek and Hebrew. Theobald, by his own confession imperfectly acquainted with the Bohemian language,† failed to notice a passage in the preface to the Bible in question which distintly refers to previous editions, of which it only professes this to be a revision and improvement. This is a statement which such a scholar as Comenius would scarcely have overlooked. The passage as translated by the learned Elsner reads as follows: "Diese Arbeit haben über sich genommen die vorsichtigen Männer, Johann Hlawsa, Wenzel Sowa, Burian Lasar, Bürger der Alstadt Prag so hiebey keine Kosten gesparet haben," etc. "Und obgleich die Bibel schon vorher Böhmisch abgedruckt worden ist, so sind doch hier verscheidene vorhin eingeschlichene Mängel verbessort worden." And again in the preface to the 4th book of Ezra, "Obgleich die böhmische Bibel *chedem schon zweymal* wäre gedruckt worden, so stünde doch dieses vierte Buch Esra niemals mit da." The editions of Prague and Kuttenberg both omit this book and are unquestionably the two referred to.

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* Eisner, Versuch. page 22.

† Theobold, H. K. page 139.

Theobold, travelling in Bohemia about a century after the publication of the Venetian imprint,* met with a copy in the hands of a miller, whose hospitality he enjoyed at Tausz, and unhesitatingly accepted it as the earliest Bohemian Bible. Writing afterwards of the Taborites he commends the untiring industry with which their Pastors transcribed the Scriptures for the laity "to be read in their houses," and proceeds to say, "Finally, ten years before Luther's dispute with Tetzelius, they caused an edition to be printed in Venice, as testified by the final clause copied from the exemplar met with at Tausz," viz: "Perfectum est illud opus Biblicum Venetiis in Italia, Anno Domini 1506," etc.† There is no evidence, nor any reason for supposing, that any other Bohemian Bible was ever printed in Venice; but in attributing the printing of this to the Taborites, Theobald is manifestly wrong. That warlike sect no longer existed; and with no propriety could the name be applied to their eminently peaceful successors, the Brethren.

The three editions we have been considering were followed by seven others, printed at Prague, in the years 1529, '37, '49, '56, '70, '77 and 1613, and by one at Nuremberg in 1540. All of these were translations from the Latin of St. Jerome.‡

Seventeen editions of the New Testament only, all likewise from the Vulgate, were published in various years from 1513 to 1597. Of these, 3 were printed in Nuremberg, 1 in Olmutz, 9 at Prague, 2 at Jung-Bunzlau, 1 at Pilsen, and 1 at Prestiejowa.§

The Bible, and at least one of the Testaments printed at Nuremberg, together with both the Testaments of Jung-Bunzlau, and probably some of those published in Prague, were printed by or for the Brethren.‖ They, however, were far from satisfied with this translation of a translation, and earnestly desired to ascend as nearly as possible to the original sources of the waters of life. The way was opened to them by Bishop Blahoslaw, a man of spotless purity and great learning, who in 1564 published a New Testament translated from the original Greek, which had the

* The first edition of Theobald's Hussiten's Krieg was printed in 1609.

† Hussiten Krieg. A. T. page 139.

‡ Elsner. § Elsner.

‖ Plitt, quoted by Crœger, Geschichte der Alten Brüderkirche, 1ter Bd. page 121. Gnadau, 1865. And Gindely, Geschichte der Böhm. Br., 2ter Bd. page 70.

rare merit of being a faithful exhibit of the sense of the original in the purest idiomatic Bohemian.* This Testament was reprinted in 1568, and in 1593, with the annotations of Bishop Niemczanius, appeared as the 6th volume of the great Bible of the Brethren.

The first edition of the Brethren's Bible was printed at Kralitz in Moravia, in the castle and at the expense of the Baron John von Zerotin, a distinguished nobleman, who adhered to the Brethren.† It was published in six quarto volumes which appeared as follows, viz.: The First, containing the Pentateuch, in 1579; Second, Joshua to Esther inclusive, 1580; Third, Job, Psalms and writings of Solomon, 1582; Fourth, The Prophetical Books, 1587; Fifth, The Apocrypha; and Sixth, The New Testament, in 1593, the whole enlarged and enriched by a copious and judicious commentary. Succeeding editions were printed in a more compact form, in one volume and without commentary. The Brethren's Bible was the first Bohemian one in which the chapters were divided into verses.

The Brethren prepared the way for this translation, which they had long desired, by sending a number of their most gifted youths to German and Swiss Universities, where alone a thorough knowledge of the original tongues could then be attained. From the young men thus educated eight scholars were selected to whom the task of translation was confided. Their moral fitness for the work may be inferred from the fact that four of them afterwards became Bishops of the Unity.‡ Their literary ability was never denied by the bitterest of their enemies. The work they produced is the proudest monument of the ancient Church of the Brethren. It is a faithful translation rendered in choice language. A selection of passages from this Bible was made for the use of schools and published by the Jesuits, from their press at Prague, in the year 1668. In the preface to this book its editor says, that while this Bible, as a whole, cannot be recommended to Catholics and ought not to be in their possession, on account of its heresies (ketzerische Irrthümer), its style is idiomatic, beautiful and pure, beyond that of

* Elsner, Versuch. page 79. Gindely, Gesch. der B. Br. 2ter Bd. page 70.

† Comenius, Ratio Disciplinæ. Amst, 1660, page 64, §117.

‡ Note on the 124th page of the German translation of Comenius published at Schwabach, 1739.

any other Bohemian book, and he wishes his selection placed in the hands of every schoolmaster to be industriously read and copied by their scholars as a model of style.* Modern Bohemian authors also admit that the style of this version remains unsurpassed by any writer of their language.

The Testament was republished, in a duodecimo volume, in 1596, and again, revised by Bishop Ariston, in quarto, in 1601.†

A second edition of the Bible was printed in the year 1596. A copy of this is in the hands of the writer. It is an octavo volume of 1140 pages, with double columns, the numbers of the verses occupying a space between them, and marginal notes their exterior border. The type is small but clear. The original division into six parts is retained, and each is furnished with an engraved title enclosed in an arabesque border, and floriated ornamental initial letters; the initials of the books and chapters are of the same character, but smaller. Over the title of the first division is seen a lamb bearing a banner, the device on the seal of the Unity. The general title of the volume is surmounted by the Sacred name in Hebrew characters, under which on one side of an oval containing the title, is a representation of Moses with the tables of the Law; and on the other side, a figure bearing a cross with a banner and representing the Gospel. Underneath these appears a triumphal procession with the Lord of Glory in a chariot drawn by lambs, behind which Death and Hell are dragged as captives.

A copy of this Bible was recently offered in a French catalogue for 300 francs, and one of the first edition by a German booksellers for 150 thalers.

The third and last edition of the Bible published by the Brethren before their pitiless persecution and exile by the Emperor Ferdinand the Second, was a revision printed in a folio of 1177 pages in 1613. In neither this nor the second edition is the place of publication indicated; but both are believed to have been printed at Kralitz.‡

Notwithstanding a literary activity which subsequent Bohemian writers have regarded as marvellous,§ not only the Bibles of

* Kleich, quoted by Elsner, in Versuch, pages 36 and 37.

† Elsner, Versuch, page 45. And Rieger, Böhm. Br. 3ter. Theil, page 470.

‡ Elsner, page 55.

§ Gindely, Gesch. der B. Br. 1ter Bd. page 124, and 2ter Bd. page 71.

the Brethren but all their devotional books are now very scarce. This is principally owing to the blind zeal of the early Jesuits who ruthlessly burned all they could discover. Antonius Konaiseh alone is said by his biographer, Pelzel,* (himself a Jesuit) to have thus destroyed more than sixty thousand volumes.†

The revered Comenius, to supply in some measure the wants of his fellow-exiles who were destitute of Bibles, prepared and printed at Amsterdam in 1658, only two years after the destruction of his library at Lissa, a summary or abridgement of the Scriptures, entitled "A Handbook of the Marrow of the whole Holy Bible; the sum of what God has revealed for man to believe; commanded him to do; and taught him to expect," etc. It formed a 12mo pocket volume of 896 pages.‡

Since the year 1613 the Brethren's Bible has never been republished in Bohemia. In 1722, after a lapse of 109 years, a handsome reprint of the 3d edition was published for the use of exiles and their children at Halle in Saxony, and an edition of many thousand copies soon disposed of. §Encouraged by this success a bookseller of Brieg in Silesia undertook its republication in 1745, but his work was so poorly executed that none but the poorest people would purchase it.‖ The Bohemians were always noted for their love of handsomely printed books and even sumptuous bindings.

The New Testament was reprinted at Halle in 1709, 1722, 1752, and 1764, at Zittau in 1720, Lauban 1730, Brieg 1744, and Berlin in 1752.

A splendid edition of the Bohemian translation from the Vulgate

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* Pelzel, Franz Martin, Böhmische, Mährische und Schlesische Gelehrte und Schriftsteller aus dem Order der Jesuiten, page 184.

† The "Index Bohemicorum Librorum Prohibitorum" was issued from the press of the Jesuits at Prague, but bears no date. The sanction of the Pope is dated 1766, that of the Archbishop of Prague 1767, and the Imperial confirmation 1770. One might have expected more liberality, or at least some relaxation of vigilance, at so late a day as the time of Clement XIII, but none appears. In the "Index" every edition of the Brethren's Bible, together with its reprints, and the abridgement of Comenius, is not only prohibited but expressly marked for destruction with an asterisk, which is thus explained: "'*notat Librum utpoti hæresi, vel aliis pravis dogmatis refertum, plene abdolenkum esse.'

† Elsner, page 60.

§ Elsner, page 63.

‖ Elsner, pages 69 and 70.

was published in Prague by Sam. Adam Weleslawina in 1613. This edition had 158 historical engravings in addition to numerous illustrations. Among those calculated to shock a Protestant mind are six representations of the Deity, preceding the six days' work of creation, attired in a blue coat and red mantle.* Another edition of the Roman Catholic version, begun in 1677, was only completed at Prague in 1715, in a large folio; indicating a very small demand and no intention of supplying the common people.†

Having now carefully reviewed the history of the Bohemian Bible, it only remains to examine its claim to European priority.

Historians of the Bohemian Brethren, Cranz, Holmes, and Bost especially, have stated that the Brethren were the first who printed the Bible in a modern European language. In making this claim for the Brethren these authors rely exclusively on the 69th paragraph of the "Historiola Ecclesiæ Bohemicæ" of Comenius, prefixed to the "Ratio Disciplinæ," Amstel. 1660. viz:

"Crebrescere interim cæpit inventa nuper in Germania Typographiæ ars, prodeuntibus variis (in Italia potissimum, Romæ & Venetiis) libellis & libris, sacris & profanis. Bohemi ergo tanto hoc Dei dono animarum potassimum salutem utendum rati, Bibliorum vernaculo Idiomate circa hoc tempus editionem (primi Europæorum iterum) procuraverent, *Venitiis:* brevique post, distractis exemplaribus, *Noribergœ*, semel & iterum: demum domi erectis officinis (Pragæ, Boleslaviæ, Kralicii in Moravia) sæpius."

The historians above named appear to have erred in supposing that when Comenius said "*Bohemi*," he meant the Brethren. In other respects they have fairly followed him, except as regards the date of this Venetian Bible. Comenius we see assigns no date, and Cranz simply repeats him. Holmes, however, thinking, probably, of the general spread of the art of printing referred to by Comenius gives 1470 as the year in which this Bible was printed,‡ while Bost, glancing at the dates of events recorded in the adjoining paragraphs and finding 1486 precede, and 1511 follow the paragraph we have transcribed, as an average or com-

* Elsner, pages 30 and 33.

† Kleich, quoted by Elsner, v. page 35.

‡ Holmes, History of the Church of the Brethren. Vol. 1, page 63.

promises, fixes on the year 1490.* We have seen that neither of these dates is correct, but that the Bible in question was printed in 1506.

Having already proved that the earliest Bohemian printed Bible, of which there is any record, was printed in 1488, we have only further to inquire whether any other European Bible preceded it. In doing this we take for our guide the "Nachricht von der hochteuschen Bibelübersetzung" of Professor Nast (Stuttgart, 1799,) consulting also the works of Panzer† and Goeze‡ on this subject.

According to Prof. Nast the early editions of the German Bible were printed in the following order, viz.:

1st. The oldest German Bible, printed by Fust and Schoiffer at Mayence, in the year 1462.

2nd. The Bible printed at Strasburg by John Mentel, 1466.

3rd. A Bible, origin unknown, probably printed between the years 1466 and 1470.

4th. A Bible, without a date, name of place or printer, in a Swiss dialect of the German, probably printed at Zurich, 1470 to 1473.

5th. The great Bible of Augsburg, without name of printer or date, but believed to have been published between the years 1472 and 1476.

As these five editions were printed without dates, these have only been arrived at from the written memoranda made by their rubricists (persons employed to trace and fill in ornamental initials and other capitals, with the pen or pencil) and the internal evidence afforded by the orthography, typography, etc., of the volumes themselves. Copies of all these editions are preserved in several of the great German libraries. They have been minutely examined and carefully described by the eminent bibliographers above named, who mainly agree in their conclusions, except in regard to the date of the first editions, which Panzer thinks could not have been printed in 1462, inasmuch as Fust and Schoiffer printed

* Bost, Historie de l'Eglise des Freres de Boheme, etc., Geneve, 1831. Tome 1. page 95.

† Panzer, Nachricht von den allerältesten gedruckten deutschen Bibeln. Nürnberg, 1778.

‡ Goeze, Seltener und merkwürdiger Bibeln. Halle, 1777.

a folio Latin Bible it that year, and he thinks their means would have proved unequal to the production of two such works in the same year. Watt, in Bib. Britt. Edinb. 1824, thinks it well ascertained that this Bible was printed in 1467, which is the latest date that any one has assigned to it. The language of this Bible is very old German, and the version is supposed to have been made about the year 1300.

The sixth German Bible, the first with a printed date, was published at Augsburg in 1477. Others followed, at Augsburg in 1477, and again in 1480, and in 1487; Nuremberg, 1483; Strasburg, 1485; one at Cologne, in the dialect of Lower Saxony, 1480; and one at Delft, in the Dutch language, in 1477.

We thus see that no less than thirteen European Bibles were extant before the first Bohemian one was printed. It is also obvious that to the illustrious nation to which we owe the typographic art, belongs the honor of having first printed the Scriptures in a modern language.

NOTE.—Since the preceding went to the printer I have noticed that Bishop Cröger doubts whether Comenius really intended to convey the meaning generally attached to his words in the paragraph quoted on page 151, of which the English equivalent appears to be, "again the first of the Europeans," and which in the rather free German translation of Enderes (Schwabach, 1739), reads "worinnen sie unter allen Europaischen Völkern abermahls die Ersten waren."

In a foot-note, page 121 of the first part of his "Geschichte der alten Brüderkirche," Bishop Cröger says, "Inwiefern Comenius meinte dass die Böhmen in diesem Stück allen anderen Nationen vorgegangen sind, ist nicht klar (primi Europæorum iterum)." I confess, however, that I fail to see the force of this suggestion, especially when I read these words of Comenius in the light of a passage in the 14th paragraph of the Historiola, in which, writing of the early Sclavonian translation ascribed to St. Jerome, he says, "Eôque inter Europæas gentes primi fuerunt Sclavi, quibus nativâ liguâ credita fuerunt eloquia Dei," which may be fairly rendered, "Thus the Sclavonians were the first European people to whom the word of God was confided in their mother tongue," and is clearly the antecedent to which the *iterum* (again) has reference.

W. G. M.

ESTABLISHMENT

OF THE

MORAVIAN CONGREGATIONS IN OHIO.

BY JESSE BLICKENSDERFER.

In the year 1761 was built, by a Moravian Missionary, the first house within the limits of the present State of Ohio. This Missionary was Christian Frederick Post, who during the years 1758–9 had been commissioned by the English Government to visit the Indians on the Ohio, in order to detach them from the French interest in the war then raging between France and England.* In this undertaking Post succeeded beyond all expectation, and to his labor, therefore in no small degree, is the success of the British arms in these wars to be attributed.

In 1761 Post journeyed to the Tuscarawas River to renew his friendship with the Delaware chief then living on its banks, and, in addition to this, he hoped to establish himself in that country as a missionary and teacher. He procured permission to build a house, and having selected a site on the North-east side of the river, about a mile above the mouth of Sandy Creek, he erected, as before said, the first house within the limits of the State of Ohio, the posts of traders only being excepted.

After finishing his cabin, Post returned to Pennsylvania, and endeavored to procure from the Brethren at Bethlehem an assistant to return with him in the following spring, with the intention of establishing on the banks of the Tuscarawas a permanent Moravian Mission. After some time such an assistant was found for him in the person of John Heckewelder, an apprentice, then not quite nineteen years of age. They set out March 12th, 1762, and

* The journal of this tour is printed in the Pennsylvania Archives, Vol. III. pp. 502–544.

after a tedious journey of thirty-three days reached Post's cabin, April 11th. During this time, however, the Indian tribes occupying the territory between the Ohio and Mississippi, had become very unsettled, and were in fact ready, at any moment, to break out into open hostilities against the whites. When Post and his companion arrived at their house and began to clear the ground for a cornfield, the Indians became very suspicious, and, forbidding them to proceed with their work, summoned them to a "talk." After Post's explanations and assurances, they were at length allowed to clear a small spot for a garden, the savages being of opinion that *this* was all a missionary needed. Notwithstanding their preparations, these two missionary pioneers were finally obliged, owing to the hostility of the savages, to abandon their enterprise in the latter part of the summer.

No further missionary efforts were made in this territory until 1772, when David Zeisberger, who in the preceding year had visited the Delaware chief Netawatwes at Gekelemukpechuenk, emigrated to the valley of the Tuscarawas with a body of Indian converts. Here the mission became exceedingly flourishing. Settlements were formed at Schönbrunn, Gnadenhütten, and Lichtenau, and afterwards at New Shönbrunn and Salem.*

In the year 1781 this flourishing mission came to an end. The British commandant at Detroit sent a body of Indian warriors under the Huron Half-King to take the Missionaries and their converts prisoners. The former were tried as American spies, but were acquitted, whilst the latter were left to spend an unusually severe winter in much suffering at Sandusky. In March, 1782, a body of them, being compelled by hunger to return to their settlements on the Tuscarawas to procure the corn which had remained unharvested in their fields, were surrounded by a company of American militia under Colonel Williamson, and murdered in cold blood, after they had previously surrendered their arms to the militia under promises of friendship and protection. About 96 men, women, and children perished in this massacre. Two boys only escaped from the hands of the murderers.†

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* For the location of these settlements see "Antiquarian Explorations in Ohio," in *The Moravian*, July and August, 1863.

† For a full account of the massacre, as well as of the Indian Mission in Ohio generally, see "Life and Times of David Zeisberger," by E. de Schweinitz.

As soon as peace was proclaimed between the United States and Great Britain, the agents of the missions endeavored to procure for the Christian Indians a title to the lands occupied by them on the Muskingum previous to their removal by the British. Accordingly a memorial, dated October 28th, 1783, was sent to Congress, praying for the reservation to the Indians of the three towns, Gnadenhütten, Schönbrunn, and Salem, with the circumjacent lands, which had been granted to them in 1772 by the Great Council of the Delaware nation. Hereupon Congress passed an act, May 20th, 1785, containing the following clause, "That the said towns, and so much of the adjoining lands as in the judgment of the geographer of the United States may be sufficient for them, together with the buildings, &c., shall be reserved for the sole use of the Christian Indians formerly settled there."

Owing to disturbances and threats of violence against the Indians, they were not able to take possession of the land immediately, and in 1787, in order to facilitate a legal tenure of the land for the benefit of the converts, the "Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen" was formed, which met for the first time Sept. 21st. After various memorials on the part of the Society and the passage of several ordinances by Congress, an act was finally passed and approved, June 1st, 1796, granting to the said Society three tracts of land, of 4,000 acres each, containing the above mentioned towns, in trust for the benefit of the Christian Indians.* These lands were surveyed in 1797 by General Rufus Putnam, U. S. Surveyor General, John Heckewelder, William Henry, and others, and a patent therefor was granted in 1798.

After the lands had been surveyed, preparations were made to remove a body of Indian converts from Fairfield, Canada, to the Schönbrunn tract, and, at the same time the Society endeavored to induce settlers to occupy the two other tracts, in order to improve them and render them available for the purposes of the grant. This resulted in the establishment of the Moravian Church in Ohio. From this point a more detailed account of the actual planting and organization of the congregations will be in place.

On the 19th of April, 1797, John Heckewelder and William

* See statement forwarded to Hon. J. C. Calhoun by C. G. Hueffel.

Henry, with John Rothrock and Christian Clewell, of Schöneck, as assistants, as also Kamp, of Graceham, set out from Bethlehem for Gnadenhütten, to meet General Putnam and survey the lands. At Charlestown, at the mouth of Buffalo Creek, they furnished themselves with provisions and necessary utensils, and having met two Indians, Captain Bull and Joseph White Eyes, proceeded on their journey on the morning of May 7th. The evening of the 10th found them at the mouth of the Gekelemukpechuenk, where they encamped on the spot occupied by Zeisberger and Jungman as a camping ground in the fall of 1781, after their captivity by the Hurons. On the next evening they reached Gnadenhütten, and on the morning of the 12th, Heckewelder with Messemer, a Tunker preacher, who was on his way to Detroit and had joined them at Buffalo, started for Marietta in search of Putnam. The remainder of the party busied themselves in constructing a tent, and in acquiring a knowledge of the topography of the country, and especially in examining the condition of the old town. The whole country was covered with a thick growth of underbrush and long grass, to which they set fire in order to protect themselves from the multitude of snakes which lay concealed therein, and also to procure a better view of the site of the former town.*

Heckewelder, having returned with General Putnam and his company, June 9th, the time until July 4th was spent in survey-

* From a letter written by Wm. Henry, dated May 13th, we take the following: "We found the whole land covered with a deep, dry grass of an old standing, to which, on the day of our arrival, we set fire, to defend ourselves in some degree against the numerous snakes and serpents which we found had taken possession. All the ground where the town stood is covered with briars, hazel bushes, plum and thorn bushes, like a low, impenetrable forest, excepting where the paths of bears, deer, turkeys and other wild creatures afforded admittance. I was exceedingly affected while I walked over and contemplated the ruins of this once beautiful place. Part of the chimneys appear in their rows. The place where our poor Indians were massacred is strongly marked. Part of their bones are yet to be seen among the coals and ashes, and in every quarter the ground is covered with the bones of cattle killed by their enemies."

From the diary of the journey, the following is taken: "This (brush and grass) we set on fire to-day and experienced therefrom considerable pleasure." "Now we are for the first time able to obtain a real, horrible view of the ruins of the former place." "Everything lies covered with bones, and in the cellar of the house where part of the brethren were murdered we found nine of them."

ing the three tracts of land. On July 4th Heckewelder and Rothrock accompanied Putnam to Marietta, reaching Bethlehem in August. On the same day the remainder of the party set out on their return to Bethlehem, where they arrived on the 20th.

In the year 1796 a circular, dated September 10th, was issued by the Society for Propagating the Gospel addressed to the different congregations of the United Brethren, stating that the Society had received from Congress a grant of the above mentioned tracts of land, and that it desired to have them settled and improved. An appendix to this circular contained the conditions on which lands would be leased to Brethren and friends of the Mission. These conditions were subsequently (1798) modified, and in 1799 printed and adopted as the rule for future guidance. Among them occurred this paragraph, relating to the organization of a congregation: "As soon as twelve or fifteen families live on the Muskingum, the Society will take steps that a meeting-house be built, and that they receive an ordained brother, who shall serve them with the word of God and the sacraments, and also keep a school, as in other country congregations." To induce settlers to remove to and improve this land was now the great aim of the Society. Already in 1797, when the surveying party returned from Gnadenhütten, they found settlers at Charlestown who were anxious to occupy the land, but nothing seems to have come of their offer, though some of them may subsequently have leased land on the Salem tract.

In the spring of 1798, Heckewelder, as agent of the Society, accompanied young Mortimer to the Mission Station in Canada, and thence, with Edwards, made a most painful journey to Gnadenhütten, for the purpose of preparing for settlers, superintending the construction of buildings, and assisting in the establishment of the Indian congregation, which was shortly to arrive from Canada. October 4th., Zeisberger and Mortimer, with thirty-three Indians, arrived on the Schönbrunn tract, after a journey of fifty-one days from Fairfield. They chose for their settlement a spot on a high bank on the west side of the river, below their former town of Schönbrunn, and about 1¾ miles S. E. of New Schönbrunn. Here a town was immediately laid out and named Goshen.* Heckewelder, with his carpenters, who had in the mean time arrived

* Mortimer's Diary in the Bethlehem Archives.

from Bethlehem, at once set about constructing a commodious and substantial dwelling for Zeisberger, while the Indians busied themselves in erecting temporary cabins for themselves and the missionaries. On Nov. 24th, Heckewelder and Mortimer returned to Bethlehem, leaving Zeisberger in charge of the congregation at Goshen, and Edwards, with Schmick and the two Colvers, to continue the work at Gnadenhütten. Later in the autumn, all the carpenters except Nathaniel Colver returned to Pennsylvania. The work at Gnadenhütten consequently progressed but slowly, though the Indian brethren from Goshen frequently assisted.

During the winter the Indian congregation suffered considerably from the want of proper provisions. They had no corn of their own, and it was a very difficult matter to procure any, the nearest settlement, Georgetown, being seventy miles distant, and a journey in the winter through the wilderness to this place was no easy task. No settlers having yet moved upon the land, arrangements were now made with some brethren, mostly from Gnadenhütten on the Mahony, to move out under the conditions referred to above. Six or eight families agreed to go, it being understood that they should, for a certain time, be supplied with a minister, and also with a store, the settlements on the Ohio being too difficult of access and too remote to be relied on to supply their wants. During the winter, work on the houses at Gnadenhütten and Goshen, and the clearing of land progressed but slowly, being subject to frequent interruptions from the weather. Early in November a house was finished for Zeisberger, who had meanwhile occupied a cabin. On the 19th of the same month the Indians began the erection of a chapel, the first service in which was held December 12th, Zeisberger preaching from the text of the day.

Nothing of special interest occurred during the remainder of the winter, the chief concern both at Goshen and Gnadenhütten being to procure a sufficient supply of provisions for the Indian congregation. Visits were made to the settlements on the Ohio and corn was purchased wherever it could be procured, the time being mostly spent in hunting deer and bears.

When spring opened, the Indians occupied themselves in boiling maple sugar, on which, for want of other provisions, they subsisted for a time almost exclusively. The supply of corn from the settlements on the Ohio began to be exhausted, and they received notice

that they could not expect much more help from that source. In consequence of this, journeys were made to the Walhunding, Sandusky, &c., in quest of corn for planting.

At length, (May 6th) no doubt to the great joy of all, Bro. Heckewelder, with Jacob Bush and J. Hotel (Hodel?), arrived from Bethlehem. Heckewelder was made acquainted with the state of affairs, and immediately dispatched a party with canoes to Marietta to obtain a sufficient supply of corn.

Though the work at Gnadenhütten had progressed as well as was to be expected, yet on Heckewelder's arrival he found much to be accomplished. No houses had yet been completed and no ground had been ploughed for corn-planting. Garden lots in Gnadenhütten were also to be prepared, and, in addition, the Salem tract was to be laid out into farms for the settlers, who were beginning to arrive, a party of Dunkers from Old Gnadenhütten being the first. June 9th, Brother Jungman arrived, having left the wagons with which he came some miles behind, they being detained waiting for a road to be cut through to the town. June 12th, Brother and Sister Oppelt arrived on horseback, in advance of the wagons, the latter being the first white woman in that country since 1781. Soon after the whole party came into the town, announcing their approach by a general discharge of their guns. The party consisted of the following persons: The Brethren Oppelt (on the way to the Canada Mission), Mortimer (Missionary at Goshen), and Jungman, (overseer of the workmen employed at Gnadenhütten), with the Sisters Oppelt and Jungman (and Mortimer?). The party had left Litiz May 6th, in two wagons, driven by Henry Bollinger and Jacob Rickseeker. After a journey of fifteen days they reached Pittsburg, where they spent several days in making necessary purchases and in waiting for the creeks, swollen by late heavy rains, to subside.

Pittsburg, at that time a town of considerable importance in the West, was an object of interest to the party.* Reaching George-

* The following from Mortimer's diary may be of interest. "We were informed that in March last, not less than 170 boats had left or passed Pittsburg, with settlers, horses, cattle, goods, &c., for the new countries. These boats are built in the rudest and simplest manner, of oblong form, 40 or 50 feet long and about 20 broad. They are in part covered with boards like the roof of a house, which serves for store-house and dwelling. Therein is a fire-place and rudder; the open

town on the 29th, they remained until the 31st, making preparations for their journey through the wilderness, purchasing cattle and procuring road-cutters to open the way before them to Gnadenhütten.* June 1st found the party fairly on their way, camping out in the woods. Owing to the labor of cutting the road and frequent delays by reason of the straying away of cattle and horses during the night, the party made but slow progress.† Added to this, the road-cutters not unfrequently became some-

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part is for the live-stock and lumber. Thus constructed, when seen upon the river, they present the appearance of a small, floating farm-house and yard." * * * * "The houses in Pittsburg number about 400, some handsomely built, containing about 3000 inhabitants. There are in Pittsburg, a Presbyterian, a Lutheran and a Methodist church. It is somewhat singular, however, that the churches are without ministers. All the clergymen, who have, for several years past, come to reside here have turned lawyers and three of them at present exercise that profession in the town."

* A variety of business now engaged our attention; we had to purchase cows, bacon, oats, flour, salt and a variety of other articles. Money had to be taken up, letters written, road-cutters engaged, part of the loading of the wagons left behind, new loading fetched, bread baked and every preparation made for a temporary residence or rather peregrination like the Calmucks, in the wilderness, for the support and accommodation of a considerable number of persons and for sundry possible casualties. Every individual among us was busy and solicitous that nothing of importance might be forgotten or neglected. We ought to notice here with thankfulness, that Bro. Heckewelder's prior arrangements and careful provision for us lightened our trouble very considerably. In the country bordering on the Ohio, it is extremely difficult to obtain industrious laboring people. Those who offer themselves as such, are generally idle strollers, who are not fond of staying long in one place, and only work at all, or seek to be paid for working, in order that they may have money to spend in the taverns. These people are only useful under close inspection. Such were the men whom we had to rely on to cut the road for us to the Muskingum." * * * "Georgetown contains 27 houses which make but a mean appearance. It was begun to be built about four years since. Some of the inhabitants appear to be religious. In the only tavern here a large upper apartment is devoted to divine worship whenever any travelling minister can be engaged to preach. The inhabitants gave Bro. Mortimer such an invitation which the poor state of his health obliged him to decline."

† "Our whole company consisted of 13 men and women, 10 horses, 6 cows, with 5 calves, and two dogs." "Those of our friends who are curious in the history of eating and drinking, will be desirous to know how we lived in the woods. The relation is very short and simple. Our breakfast and supper consisted of coffee, tea, chocolate, milk or some kind of soup with bread, bacon, and sometimes potatoes. Our dinner was of bacon and bread. It need hardly be added, that living entirely in the open air produced, unless in case of sickness, a never failing keen appetite for food."

what unmanageable and very early showed a disposition to act very independently. On Sunday, June 9th, the party resting during the day, were overtaken by the millwrights whom Heckewelder had engaged from Old Gnadenhütten, viz: Boaz and Joseph Walton, Jacob Davis, and Joseph Rhodes. With their assistance the remainder of the road was cut, enabling the wagons to reach their destination on the 14th.

On their arrival in town, the Brethren Jungman and Oppelt, with their wives, moved into a cabin formerly occupied by Heckewelder, no house being yet completed, a large one which had been built during the winter not being quite finished and being then temporarily occupied by the men.

The whole force, including the millwrights, now set to work clearing and preparing corn ground, as it was the highest time for the corn to be planted. Enclosures were also to be made for the cattle, and accommodations provided for the two families among them. "Now," in the language of Bro. Heckewelder, "there at length appeared some prospect of a settlement."

June 23rd, Bro. Mortimer, from Goshen, preached the first sermon in Gnadenhütten, the first since the removal of the Mission in 1781. There were present 17 white persons, and 6 Ottawa Indians.*

The work of corn planting being ended, and temporary enclosures for the stock being finished, the men next turned their attention to the completion of the dwellings, the first of which was finished July 8th, and immediately occupied by Bro. Jungman and wife.

July 13th, the first Communion was held by Bro. Zeisberger, who came down from Goshen expressly for this purpose. The following communicants were present, viz: Zeisberger, Oppelt, Jungman and their wives, John Heckewelder, Jacob Bush, Henry Bollinger, Paul Greer, Ezra Warner, Peter Edmunds, and the Indian brother Charles Henry,—in all 13. Previous to this, those living at Gnadenhütten had received the communion at Goshen.

The second house was finished July 27th, and on August 7th, Heckewelder moved into it. Heckewelder, though the Agent of the Society, had shared all the hardships of their situation and

* Heckewelder's diary of journey to Gnadenhütten, 1799.

only now moved into a comfortable dwelling. August 6th, the following Brethren from Old Gnadenhütten returned for their families: Peter and Ezra Warner, and Peter Edmunds.

Early in August Bro. and Sr. Oppelt, accompanied by Matthew Colver and some Indians, started on their journey to Canada. On the 11th of this month occurred the first death in the Goshen congregation. The brethren cleared a small spot to the west of the town and opened a road to it on the 12th; here the corpse was laid, and here also rest the mortal remains of the missionaries Zeisberger and Edwards.*

In Gnadenhütten, the building designed as a dwelling and store for Bro. Peter, was about this time commenced and finished during the autumn. Towards the middle of September the carpenters returned to Pennsylvania, two men being sent with them to remove the trees, which, in the summer-storms, had been blown down and obstructed the road to Georgetown. Affairs at Gnadenhütten had by this time assumed a settled appearance. Two houses besides the store had been completed, the corn which had been planted was now ready for use, and everything was prepared for the arrival of the families of the settlers.

October 18th, Brother and Sister David Peter and Brother and Sister Lewis Knauss arrived. The former immediately occupied the store, and in a few days was ready to do business with the Indians. This was a great convenience to them, as heretofore they had been obliged to visit the settlements on the Ohio to exchange the products of the chase, or await the arrival of traders in their own villages. November 6th, the force at Gnadenhütten was increased by the arrival from Old Gnadenhütten of the following brethren with their families: Jonathan Warner, Nathan Warner, (and six children), and Asa Walton. On the 15th the number was still further increased by the arrival of Ezra Warner and family. On the following day Brother Bollinger, who had brought these families out, returned with Brother and Sister Jungman, their work at the settlement being now ended. Soon after Brother Heckewelder, having now seen the settlement fairly established, returned to spend the winter with his family at Bethlehem.†

* This burying place is still preserved and is the property of the Society.

† Before leaving, the communion was celebrated. There were present: Brethren and Sisters Mortimer, Peter, Paul Greer, Ezra Warner, Jonathan Warner, Nathan Warner; and Mary Evrit, Jacob Bush, Brother Heckewelder.

During the winter and spring, Brother Mortimer from Goshen held religious services at Gnadenhütten every fourth Sunday both in German and English. The Christmas services were also observed, on Christmas Eve a lovefeast, at which were present 13 adults* and 11 children; in the morning of the 25th, a sermon, and in the evening communion, at which were present, beside Brother Mortimer, 11 communicants.† On the 26th, Brother Mortimer kept a liturgy and then returned to Goshen. Owing to the weather he was not able to return to keep the services on New Year's Eve. The congregation however met at half-past eight and partook of a lovefeast. By the arrival of Benjamin Chitty on the 27th the congregation consisted at the close of the year 1799 of 14 adults (of whom only 11 seem to have been communicants,) and 11 children, making a total of 25.‡

The church-services were, for the greater part of the time, held in Brother Heckewelder's house, and as the Brethren Zeisberger and Edwards were both at home, Brother Mortimer was enabled to serve the Gnadenhütten congregation pretty regularly, except when prevented by the weather or the impassable condition of the river. The settlers from the Salem tract and others not connected with the congregation, frequently attended these services. When Brother Mortimer was not able to be present, a sermon was read or a liturgy sung. During the spring (of 1800) the services were held at 1 o'clock, P. M., in order to enable the settlers from the Salem tract to attend; of these there were two families, numbering inclusive of children, 15 souls.

During this winter houses were built on the west side of the river for the brethren who had moved out in the autumn, and had rented lands there. These settlers subsequently composed the Beersheba congregation.

We must not omit to mention that on Easter Morning (1800) the little congregation repaired to the old Indian graveyard, and there prayed the Easter Morning Litany. The mingled emotions of sorrow and joy which filled their hearts, can be better imagined

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* As follows: The Brethren and Sisters Peter, Greer, Ezra Warner, Jonathan Warner, Nathan Warner, with Mary Evrit and Asa Walton and wife.

† Same as for lovefeast with the probable exception of Asa Walton and wife.

‡ For an account of the settlement see also "Life and Times of David Zeisberger," p. 657.

than described. For the first time since 1781 the words of the Litany were heard on this consecrated ground. Filled with grief over the past, but with bright hopes for the future, they remembered their brethren and sisters, who eighteen years before had met an untimely death near this spot. The following passage was introduced into the Litany:

"I believe that our brethren and sisters, about ninety-six in number, who were put to an untimely death in the year 1782 in the town that formerly stood here, are gone to the church made perfect and have entered into the joy of their Lord." "Their bones are buried near this place."*

"They are at rest in lasting bliss
Beholding Christ our Saviour."

As other settlers were soon to arrive at Gnadenhütten, the Society, in accordance with the conditions mentioned in their circular of 1796, now took steps to procure a minister for this station. To this work Brother Lewis Huebener, of Lancaster, was called. After visiting Bethlehem and Litiz, he, with other Moravians, left the latter place on June 2d, reached his journey's end July 2d. On Sunday, July 6th, Brother and Sister Zeisberger came down from Goshen, and after dinner, during a lovefeast, Brother Zeisberger installed Brother Huebener as the pastor of the congregation. At the close of this service, the latter preached his introductory sermon, and in the evening the congregation partook of the communion, Brother Zeisberger officiating. In the evening the Conference for the government of the congregation was organized. During the following months this Conference† brought before the congregation the questions of the erection of a church, and of the election of two stewards to care for the temporal interests of the congregation. Both these measures were approved of, and it was determined to commence the erection of a church at as early a day as possible. The Stewards chosen were, for the Gnadenhütten side of the river, Lewis Knauss, and for the west side, Ezra Warner.

On August 13th, 1800, occurred the first death in the congre-

* All the bones of the murdered Indians were collected by William Henry and his company in 1797, and buried in a cellar of the old town, they not being able to find the old graveyard.—*Mortimer's Diary.*

† Composed of the Brethren Huebener, Heckewelder, and Peter, with their wives.

gation, viz.: Sister Hannah Greer, who with her husband, Brother Paul Greer, had moved to this place in autumn, 1799. A place of interment had been prepared beside the old Indian graveyard, near the old town. Here her remains were laid to rest, August 14th.

During this summer, the country in the vicinity of the congregation filled up with settlers very rapidly, and the congregation also received considerable accessions. Brother Heckewelder left Gnadenhütten, October 24th, to examine the Society's lands on French Creek, whence he returned to Bethlehem. Owing to the generally prevalent sickness and poverty, nothing was done towards the erection of a church and school-house. At the close of the year 1800, the congregation numbered 50 souls, 25 more than the previous year, of whom sixteen were communicants.*

The congregation being now well established, we need only chronicle the events of interest in its progress and extension. The settlers living on Salem tract and thereabouts, finding it inconvenient to attend divine services at Gnadenhütten, which was eight miles distant, requested Brother Huebener to visit and preach to them. Accordingly he held a service for them, for the first time, May 31st., 1801, in the house of George Sills, and continued these services during the summer. On June 9th, Brother Heckewelder and family arrived from Bethlehem as permanent residents and members of the Conference. The church services, which had heretofore been held in Brother Heckewelder's house, were now held, in fine weather under a large tree near the river bank, and at other times in Brother Huebener's house. The following extract from the Memorabilia for 1801 gives the number of members, and also the items of interest in the congregation. "We have to mention that a horse-mill is now raised, which will prove of great convenience and benefit to us and to our whole neighborhood, for which we are

* Extract from the Memorabilia of the year 1800: "In this year there have moved here four families, viz: Brother and Sister Peter and Elizabeth Edmunds, with their five children; Peter and Grace Warner, with their three children from Old Gnadenhütten; Brother and Sister Ludwig Huebener, from Lancaster; Brother and Sister Ludwig and Maria Knauss, with their six children, from Schœneck—22.

Born and baptized, four children, viz: Susan Warner, Mary Walton, Maria Peter, and Lydia Salome Huebener.

Departed, Sister Hannah Greer."

all very thankful. There was also a well* digged in our place so that we are now supplied with very good and fresh water. A dwelling-house and other buildings were also finished so that they are now inhabited. In this year there moved to us two families: from Bethlehem, Brother and Sister Heckewelder, he as Agent for the Society, and both as members of the Conference, with their two daughters, Anna Salome and Susannah; from Mt. Joy, Brother and Sister Isaac Gottlieb, and Anna Johannah Bornway with their five children, together with Michael Rhemel out of the neighborhood of Litiz—12.

Born and baptized, two children: Maria Warner and Anna Susannah Knauss.

Departed: the married Brother Jh. Gl. Bornway.

Our congregation consists of 63 souls, of whom 20 are communicants."

During the year 1802 there lived on the Gnadenhütten side of the river, seven families, and on the west side, six families. The regular church services in Gnadenhütten were in the English language. As it was a part of the duty of the minister to teach a school, both to support himself and to afford the children an opportunity of acquiring a common school education, Brother Huebener began a school, January 18th, 1802, with 17 children, which for want of a school-house, was kept in Brother Huebener's own house.†

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* The present (1870) public well in the main street in Gnadenhütten.

† The following is a memorandum of the announcement concerning the school. "The school will be on the first three days of the week, beginning at 9 A. M., and ending after 3 P. M. On every Wednesday the scholars and children will have, alternately, children's meeting and instruction in the doctrines of Christianity, to which also such boys and girls as cannot come to school ought to come. The school will begin to-morrow, January 18th, and will be kept till the end of March. It is expected that the parents of such children as come to school will find firewood for the school-room and also get it chopped ready for burning. Ink, ink-stands, paper, quills, spelling-books and other books necessary for schools, must be provided by the parents of the children.

Both the English and German will be teached in the school, yet such children whose parents think it not needful that they learn the German, shall be exempted from it.

If the children shall learn cyphering, they ought to be provided with slates and slate-pencils. The children must be washed and combed well every morning before they come to school. Those children who live on the other side of the water may bring their dinner with them and eat it here. As the school for these few months is only a beginning of school, and on account of the want of proper books

The services at the house of Mr. Sills, below Salem, were continued during the summer, and on June 27th Brother Huebener began preaching at the house of Isaac Evans, who had been present at Mr. Sills' and begged Brother H. to preach for them. The settlement where Evans resided, numbering 6 families, lay 17 miles below Gnadenhütten, near the former Indian Whiteeyestown. Returning from this place, Brother H. visited the settlers at New Comerstown.

The whole Tuscarawas valley was now rapidly filling up with settlers, both above and below Gnadenhütten, and the congregation itself received considerable accessions. Besides, many families of Moravians settled on lands adjacent to the Society's tracts, but did not properly belong to the congregation.

At the close of 1802 the congregation numbered 89 souls, 23 being communicants. There were baptized five children belonging to the congregation, and eighteen children of surrounding settlers. At this time there do not seem to have been any other ministers besides the Moravian in the Tuscarawas valley.

The year 1803 was a prosperous year for the congregation. Besides receiving large accessions to their membership, they were at length enabled to complete their church, which since the year 1800 they had been endeavoring to erect. This building, 20 feet square, was dedicated July 10th, the Brethren Zeisberger and Haven from Goshen being present. The former officiated at the opening services. Excepting the mission chapels, this was probably the first church dedication within the state of Ohio. At these services all the brethren from both sides of the river and the vicinity of Goshen were present, the house being full to overflowing. Since Easter, in order to accommodate many of the brethren who could not understand English, the regular Sunday morning services were held alternately in German and English. The services below Salem and at Mr. Evans', near Whiteeyestown, were continued through the summer.

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and other materials necessary for a school, not very much can be expected of it, no payment for school will be expected from such parents as belong to the congregation.

But, as by the resolution of the Directors of the Society the school shall make out a part of the maintenance of the laborers here, it cannot be expected that in time to come, the school will be kept without payment."

At the close of this year (1803) the congregation numbered 139 persons, of whom 32 were communicants. This large increase was due mostly to immigration, 45 persons who had moved to Ohio from other States, having joined the congregation. During the fall Brother and Sister Loskiel paid an extended visit to the congregations at Goshen and Gnadenhütten.

A minute from the Provincial Helpers' Conference having been received at the beginning of the year 1804, requesting the congregation to conform as much as possible to the customs and rules of the Moravian Church, which were observed in other congregations, the members were accordingly distributed into their respective "choirs," which thereafter celebrated their annual festivals on the appointed days. In addition to the services kept by Brother Huebener during the last year, he this year, at the request of Mr. Knisely, the proprietor of the land,* held German services in his house for the benefit of the settlers above Goshen.

Already in the year 1803 steps had been taken by the settlers on the west side of the river, to have their own mill, tavern and church erected, and to procure a minister to serve them, they being entitled to one, as they were the majority of the settlers on the Society's lands. They could with difficulty understand German, and they were, moreover, frequently prevented by high water from attending church, and their children, during the winter, could only with the greatest danger cross the river to attend school. Therefore, in August, 1805, Brother Huebener was recalled. Having preached his farewell sermon on the 4th, he departed for Pennsylvania August 7th, and on the 24th, Brother George G. Müller, who was called to serve the brethren residing on the west side of the river, arrived and took up his abode temporarily with Brother Heckewelder. He preached his introductory sermon on the 25th.

Brother Müller remained in Gnadenhütten until his church was finished. The building comprised a church hall and school house on the lower story, and a dwelling for the minister on the upper. It was dedicated December 15th, 1805. On December 20th, Brother Müller moved over to his house, and this congregation and settlement, in distinction from Gnadenhütten, received the

* New Philadelphia?

name of Beersheba. This was reckoned his congregation proper, and Gnadenhütten only an out-post. The services at Beersheba were entirely English, and were held in the morning, whilst those at Gnadenhütten were held in the afternoon, or on Monday, and were entirely German. Many German brethren from Goshen and the surrounding country attended the latter.

At the close of the year 1805, the congregation at Beersheba numbered, including that of the Pastor, 11 families, a total of 72 souls, of whom 21 were communicants. Gnadenhütten being an out-post, was not counted.

During the following years the services at Gnadenhütten were well attended, while Beersheba progressed but slowly. On the 22d of August, 1810, Brother Müller, in order to accommodate the settlers living below Goshen, in the neighborhood of the present Sharon, began to preach once a month in the house of Brother John Uhrich. He did this, as he says, more especially to enable the children to attend divine services, they being seldom allowed to accompany their parents to Gnadenhütten. In August, 1811, these services were continued in a school-house* about a mile from the site of the present Sharon church.

The following account of the subsequent history of the congregations in Ohio, and of the general condition of religion in the Tuscarawas valley, is taken from an article in the *Moravian Church Miscellany, Vol. I*, the writer of which was himself a member of the congregation at that time.

"The Beersheba brethren spoke the English language, and as they came originally from New England they were called 'Yankees,' and their settlement 'Yankeetown.' Nearly all the other members of our Church were more conversant with the German language; and hence divine worship in Beersheba was kept in the English language, and at Gnadenhütten, and near the present Sharon, in German, but it was very seldom that Germans were seen at the English, or the English brethren at German meetings. No 'Brotherly Agreement,' or 'Rules and Discipline,' were made, or committees elected, or even thought of, as far as at present known, while Brother Müller was here, nor until several years afterwards. He was sent by the Society under a contract it

* Most probably on the site of the present "Nineveh" school-house.

had made with its lessees, under the sanction of the Provincial Helpers' Conference at Bethlehem, and all the members here were fully aware that all the privileges they enjoyed in having the Gospel preached and the sacraments administered, were owing to the Society who had sent and still supported Brother Müller in Beersheba.

"In the year 1814 the period terminated for which the Society had engaged to support a minister among its lessees. Early in the spring of that year Brother Müller was recalled, and the settlers were left without a minister and without a hope that his place would be supplied, as his moving away created in reality no vacancy. He had been there under a contract, and that contract was now fulfilled. Here then the history of the *congregations* in Ohio commences, as before this time no regularly organized congregation existed in Ohio. During the spring and summer of 1814, meetings of the members of our Church were very frequently held, and a correspondence opened with the P. H. Conference in Bethlehem, which resulted in the settlement of a minister at Gnadenhütten, and afterwards in organizing several congregations.

"After Brother Müller left Beersheba there was not a resident minister of the Gospel in Tuscarawas County except the missionary at Goshen. Marriages were generally performed by the magistrates; burials, among the Moravians and the few Christians in the neighborhood, by the missionary; among the Methodists (who were the most numerous denomination) by their class-leaders, and among the other inhabitants, either without any religious ceremonies, or with a few words of exhortation by any one who wished to address the persons assembled, or lead in singing a hymn.

* * * * Under these circumstances, the desire of our brethren in this neigborhood to have a minister of our own among us, was great and sincere. Meetings of the members of our Church were therefore held, the P. H. Conference at Bethlehem was applied to, and their answer was, that they would take our application into serious consideration and in all probability would comply with it, as soon as they were assured that funds were secured to cover the expenses of the removal of a minister with his family to Ohio, and an annual subscription from which he could respectably maintain his family after he was here.

"This was not an easy matter, especially to raise the funds for

a minister and family to remove to Ohio. During this time there was war with England and everything was enormously high. It will sound strange in these days of railroads and canals to hear that at that time the freight on a hundred weight of goods from Philadelphia to Pittsburg amounted to ten dollars, and two dollars more from the latter place to this neighborhood. The travelling expenses for persons were in proportion. The number of brethren was so small that it required the full and united efforts of all to raise the amount required to bring a minister here, as well as a subscription from which he could live after he was here, and yet we were far from being united. The English brethren from Beersheba had their own meeting-house and wished religious services to be kept there. In Gnadenhütten stood the old parsonage and church, and the largest number wished the minister to reside there and preach, at least part of the time, at that church and in the German language. A considerable number of the brethren lived in the neighborhood of the present Sharon church, from three to six miles from Gnadenhütten, the river, without bridge or ferry, being between them and that place. They insisted that they could not with propriety be asked to contribute, unless a promise were given beforehand, that religious service should also be kept in their neighborhood, and that it would have to be understood now, that they would erect a church of their own, as soon as they could get a suitable piece of ground, organize a congregation of their own as soon as the minister would be here, and that they must be allowed an equal share of his services, as a separate congregation.

"From the local situation of these last mentioned brethren, their demand was not unreasonable, and had to be conceded for the sake of obtaining their assistance. Although Beersheba and Gnadenhütten were only one mile apart, yet on account of the river flowing between them, and the difference in language existing between the brethren of these two settlements, it was not considered reasonable to accede to their claim, and the result was a mutual agreement to do all we could to get the minister here, and then, with his consent and approbation, to divide into three congregations. No doubt was entertained of obtaining his consent as soon as he should be here and become acquainted with the local situation of the brethren. A subscription was then raised for his

support, as well as to defray the expenses of his removal to Ohio. The result was sent to the P. H. Conference and several members pledged themselves to become personally responsible if the amount should be insufficient. On this Brother Jacob Raushenberger received and accepted a call as minister to Gnadenhütten. He moved to Ohio late in the season, and kept his first meeting at that place on December 25th, 1814.

"As soon as he became acquainted with the situation of his church-members, he made the arrangement to preach one Sunday at Gnadenhütten, the second at Beersheba, and the third in a private house in the neighborhood of the present Sharon, but that all should be considered as forming one congregation, who met on all festival occasions at Gnadenhütten.

"On the 25th and 26th of December, 1817, the present (1850) Sharon church was consecrated. There was then no resident minister in the neighborhood who could assist at the opening services, and the missionary at Goshen was the only minister present besides Brother Raushenberger. There was some difference of opinion among the members of the Sharon congregation while the church was building. On the present size all were agreed, but one party wanted to make it high enough for galleries on three sides, while the other party thought it large enough without galleries. It was built with galleries, and in less than twenty years it became occasionally very uncomfortably crowded, even with the galleries all filled. As soon as the church was built, the congregation asked for festivals and communion to be kept at their church, the same as in Gnadenhütten, as the female part of the congregation could but seldom attend at that place. This was partially, but never fully, acceded to while Brother Raushenberger lived at Gnadenhütten.

"The old church at Gnadenhütten, which was a very small building, having become on almost every occasion too small, a new one was built and consecrated on August 20th, 1820. On this occasion two Lutheran ministers assisted in the solemnities, one of whom resided in New Philadelphia, the other in Columbiana County, about 65 miles from Gnadenhütten. They both preached, one a German, the other an English sermon.

"Shortly after this the first 'Brotherly Agreement' was sent by the Provincial Helpers' Conference to our congregation, to be

signed by the male adult members as usual. In a congregation council, called for the purpose, it was examined, article by article, and signed by all present. At the same time the council was further directed to elect a committee. The question was again agitated whether we were one congregation, or three. The members were generally for dividing into three congregations, but it was opposed by the minister, who insisted that we were but one congregation, and should have but one committee, which should consist of six members, and that two should be elected from the Beersheba, two from the Gnadenhütten, and two from the Sharon division of the congregation. The arrangement was acquiesced in, and a committee was elected.

"In the year 1827 Brother Raushenberger was recalled by the Provincial Helpers' Conference, and Brother Samuel R. Huebener arrived at Gnadenhütten to fill his place. As a new subscription for his support had to be taken, the congregation at Sharon felt generally unwilling to subscribe under the old arrangement, and required a separate organization as a congregation, and an equal participation in festivals, to be kept at their church as often as in Gnadenhütten. As there was no objection whatever to such an arrangement from the Gnadenhütten side of the congregation, Brother Huebener agreed to it without hesitation, and the Sharon congregation elected its own committee, sometime in the latter part of that year. The Beersheba part of the congregation had by this time become reduced to two or three families. It will be recollected that they originally settled on land held by the Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen. As their leases ran out, and they became able, they purchased farms of their own, some within the bounds of one or the other congregation, others entirely away from them, because among themselves the land was not for sale. In 1823 the Society had retroceded their trust to Congress,* whereupon the land which had been im-

* On the 20th of February, 1822, Hon. Thomas H. Benton submitted in the Senate of the United States, a series of resolutions asking for information concerning the patent conveying the three tracts of land to the Society, the condition of the Indian converts settled thereon, and the general management of the trust by the Society. On February 22nd, these resolutions came up for action upon which Mr. Benton made some extended remarks, of which the following are extracts:

"He said, it happened about one hundred years ago that the followers of the sectarian Schwenkfeld were expelled by the reigning Elector from the Electorate of Saxony; and about the same time a Dr. Spangenberg, Theologicus Adjunctus

proved by those brethren was sold by Congress. This drove more off and caused the reduction above stated. With the consent of those who remained, Beersheba was discontinued as a preaching place, and the few members who were left attached themselves to the Gnadenhütten congregation. From this time religious service was held every two weeks alternately at the churches in Gnadenhütten and Sharon, which had been the case only every third Sunday before this time.

"Prior and up to the year 1840 several families of Moravians had settled in the town of Dover, and as they lived nine miles from the Sharon church, it was very inconvenient for them to attend meetings. At their request, Brother Titze, then minister at Gnadenhütten, commenced to preach during the summer season

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in the University of Halle, lost his place in the University on account of some dispute with the divines. Being out of employment, these individuals united in a project to cross over to the British Colonies in America for the purpose of civilizing and converting the Indians, and, addressing themselves to Governor Oglethorpe, then in London, received from him the means of transportation to Savannah in Georgia. Arrived at that place, they immediately commenced their labors among the Creek Indians; founded a church and a school at a place called Irene, five miles from Savannah, and had the greatest success, according to the published accounts, in teaching and converting the natives. The noise of their employment and success drew others from Germany, and with the increase of laborers was duly extended the field of action. They spread to the North and entered the colony of Connecticut, being invited as the history of the mission reports, by the Indians themselves. Mr. B. said that he could not gainsay the alleged fact of the invitation, nor was it material to the point in hand; but he could say that such an invitation implied a contradiction of every spring of human action, there being no principle in the breast of man, either civilized or barbarian, which can impel him to invite another to make an attack on the articles of his faith and the sanctity of his God. Be that as it may, Mr. B. said that the Brethren established themselves in the village of Shekomeko." * * * * "Mr. B. said that the history went on to show that the converted Indians increased in number and grace until they became an example to the people of Connecticut. He mentioned particularly the case of a certain justice of the peace, as related by Loskiel, who came to Shekomeko to find out whether anything was going on there contrary to the laws of the colony, and who was made ashamed of himself by the godly walk and conversation of the Indians and returned home rebuked and edified by their example." * * * * "Mr. B. said he was a friend to the Indians and an enemy to the abuse of charity. He believed that great abuses had been committed on public and private charities in the name of humanity to the Indians. He did not include all missionaries in his censure. * * * * Still he believed that great abuses had been committed and he could hold it but little short of an abuse to attempt, at this day, with the experience of three hundred years before our eyes, to raise money from the weak and credulous for the purpose of converting the Indians."

in the Lutheran church in Dover. This he continued during the summer until he removed from Gnadenhuetten, when it was continued by his successor, Brother Sylvester Wolle. These meetings, kept during the summer and discontinued during the winter, strengthened the desire which had already existed for some time to have a Moravian church in Dover.

"Brother Lewis F. Kampmann came to Ohio in December, 1842, as an assistant to Brother Wolle. It was arranged between them that Brother Kampmann should live at Dover, and from that time must be dated the resolution of the Dover brethren to make a strong effort to build a church and apply to the P. H. Conference for a minister of their own. They numbered at this time a few over thirty communicant members, and as their church was too far off to think of a regular attendance, even only at festivals or communion days, and as there were four churches of other denominations then in Dover where meetings were regularly kept, it was feared that some of our members would attach themselves to other churches and our number would decrease, instead of increase, if the building of the church was delayed. The effort was made, and during the summer of 1843 a church and parsonage were built. Assistance was solicited and everywhere responded to by generous gifts. In the fall of 1843 Bro. Kampmann was appointed by the P. H. Conference the minister of the Dover congregation, and on the 12th of May, 1844, their church was consecrated. In the fall of that year their parsonage was also completed and occupied by Brother Kampmann and his family. The congregation had been organized during the winter before the church was consecrated."

In 1853, on the 21st of November, the present Gnadenhuetten church was consecrated, and during the summer of 1857 a church was built in Fry's Valley, which was consecrated on the 8th of November. In 1858, the Fry's Valley congregation, consisting mostly of former members of the Gnadenhuetten congregation, was regularly organized.

For many years the original Sharon church had been uncomfortably small; accordingly, a handsome brick edifice was erected, which was dedicated on the 21st of February, 1858.

Thus from the small beginning made by eight or ten families on the Gnadenhuetten tract of land, have sprung, in time, four congregations of the Brethren's Church.